

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year. The paper will be stopped on that day unless previously renewed.

# WEEKLY PEOPLE



VOL. XVII, NO. 52.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 21, 1908.

PRICE TWO CENTS ONE DOLLAR PER YEAR.

## IN A NUTSHELL

THE GIST OF MATTERS RECORD  
ED DAY BY DAY.

Property Rules Men—Facts and Figures Which Show What Destroys the Home—Shippey to Learn What McParland Learned—Roosevelt Advises Mothers.

"Men rules property" so say the visionaries. "Property rules man" so say the intelligent Socialists. By the looks of things the capitalist press has swung in line with the Socialists. The issues of one single day furnish scores of proofs that the Socialists are right. The Prince of Sagan leaves Europe for America obedient to Anna Gould's millions. The Dunlop heirs pronounce their father insane obedient to the orders of the property that they would seize by breaking their father's will. Forgeries and embezzlements galore are recorded—each one committed at the behest of property. Laws, once thought wise, are, at the command of property, declared wrong. And life, once held sacred, is taken by the decree of death pronounced by Property. Capitalist society turns the means into the end—and the world into pandemonium.

The horrors of the class struggle, as conducted by the capitalist class against the still blindly groping and, therefore, impotently organized working class, have raised one more gruesome monument—2,500 dead workers high at Iquique, Chile—to attest the utter inhumanity of capitalism, and light the path of Socialism.

The Sugar Trust Senator McCarron's demand at Albany for an investigation of the savings banks does not of itself things—either it places the Senator in the category of a "Friend of the Poor," upon the theory that the savings bank is "the poor man's bank"; or it is the latest proof of the oft demonstrated fact that the workingmen are not in the savings banks, that the claim that theirs are the millions of deposits is false, and that the real depositors are the rich, whose interests the Senator seeks to protect.

One may gauge the depth of the intellect of some of the philanthropists who have been uttering themselves by the views of the young woman who, anxious to "prevent children from acquiring the habit of stealing," proposed that the pushcarts with eatables be abolished. The children, being hungry, steal from the pushcarts in the congested districts. The young woman's "philanthropy" would not see to it that the hunger of the children be allayed, but would inflict additional hunger upon the already hungering pushcart vendors by taking their occupation from them.

He who is ever desirous of the real instead of the romantic may add to his storehouse of fact on "How Statesmen Are Made," if he watch the political conventions in the coming campaign. In Florida and now in Delaware rival Republican delegations are matters of fact. Exciting contests will result for admission to the national convention. Who will say that these contests will be anything but demonstrations of devotion to American ideals and love of country? And who will say that the same contests are the result of there being boulders available to cast or uncast delegations in favor of a particular "statesman" that is to be? Perish the thought.

If Miss Helen Varick Boswell had her express purpose to strike a blow at the solar plexus of the Sunday School theory of matrimony she could not have done better than she did in her address to the Portia Club on the 12th instant. She gave facts and figures to show that the high earnings of the men in Panama make it next to impossible for any establishment to keep single women. The women are married as fast as they come. Upon innumerable facts of that nature, excellently marshaled in Bebel's "Woman under Socialism," Socialism maintains that marriage depends upon material well-being. Seeing Socialism necessarily would promote material well-being, Socialism is the rearer of the Home and the Family, their shield, and the guaranty of their purity, while capitalism, which promotes popular misery, is the destroyer of the Home and the Family, their scourge, and the bane of humanity into them.

The fathers ate sour grapes and the children's teeth were set on edge. The ruling capitalists cut their capers, and the 15,000 cotton mill operatives of the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company of Manchester, N. H., have to mourn over a 10 per cent. reduction in wages.

It looks very much as if Chief Shippy is about to make the experience of McParland. McParland found out that the year 1907 was not the year 1887: workingmen could not be railroaded to the gallows upon perjured testimony in 1907 as was done in 1887. And now Chief Shippy is finding out that 1908 is not 1887. The police can not now cause the death of innocent men with the impunity and profit that they did in 1887. The investigation of Chief Shippy is now demanded. Imagine the investigation of Capt. Bonfield being demanded in 1887!

Jehovah is said to have made the world out of nothing. That is the job Roosevelt assigns to the "mother." She is to bring up children sound in mind and body, and plenty of them—upon nothing. As a wage slave her earnings are even smaller than her husband's. With that nothing to begin with she is to produce "a nation of heroes."

Under headlines, that start flamboyantly stating that the membership of the Socialist party of this State has risen majestically to 4,000, the "New Yorker Volkszeitung" of the 11th instant peters down to the pattering announcement that "The Worker" can not continue, and that a special meeting of the State Committee decided unanimously to consider at its next regular session the proposition to reduce the paper from 6 to 4 pages and to change its name.—The S. P. is weaker, infinitely, than it looks; the S. L. P. is infinitely stronger than it seems.

It is truthfully reported from Omaha that "the marked resumption of activity on the railroads is an evidence that confidence is returning." Truthful though the Omaha report is, it is incomplete. It should be completed so as to read: "The marked resumption of activity on the railroads is an evidence that confidence is returning in the capacity of the railroad companies to continue their depredations upon the country with impunity."

The section laborers, on the section at Oelwein, demanded an increase in wages, and when the company refused to comply with their demands, every wheel in the shop was stopped until the company conceded to the terms demanded to the section men." When President Stickney of the Chicago Great Western Railway Co. travels all the way to London to give this example of the "arrogance" of American labor, is it not about time the workers in every industry combined effectively so as to show a little similar "arrogance" to their own employers? Away with craft-divided Unionism, which enables only the employer to be arrogant.

Prof. Ross, of the University of Wisconsin, beautifully pierced the fable of the "freedom of contract." Observing that the day of chattel slavery is now no more, the professor remarked that "a further interference in the field of the so-called 'freedom of contract' cannot be considered bold." Correct. The chattel slave did not become a slave because he was free to choose; he was captured and forced thereto. The wage worker does not freely accept the terms of his employer; he is compelled by physical necessity to do so. It will not be boldness or irreverence to abolish this condition; it will only be justice.

Jerome joins Police Commissioner Bingham in declaring that "crime is on the increase." The Chief Clerk in the office of the District Attorney reports 28 per cent. more indictments last year than in 1906. No wonder. During 1907 the fishing nets of the law were thrown over the capitalist camp and made their haul. Were the process to be kept up, the increased of indicted crime for 1908 would be 95 per cent larger than in 1907. And if kept up still longer, then the first result would be the landing of the whole capitalist class into the penitentiary, with the final result that crime would then drop down to zero. But that work is preserved for the working class itself, politically organized in the class-conscious Socialist Labor Party, and its ballot backed by the class-conscious industrially organized Union.

The fathers ate sour grapes and the children's teeth were set on edge. The ruling capitalists cut their capers, and the 15,000 cotton mill operatives of the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company of Manchester, N. H., have to mourn over a 10 per cent. reduction in wages.

## SETTLED? NO; ONLY BEGUN

With a complacency that puts one in mind of the complacency with which capitalists sit back in their chairs and indulge in some quiet chuckling at the "impotence of Labor," the business and professional interests, that run the so-called Socialist party, are declaring that the Unity Question is settled.

"Settled"? No; only begun.

During the last eight years, scores upon scores of men joined the Socialist party, never knowing of the Socialist Labor Party, and never, therefore knowing just what it was they joined. Their joining of the S. P. brought them into contact with the Socialist Movement. Protectionists first demand a protective tariff from the Government on the plea of the "infancy" of their industry. The implied inference is that, after the respective industry has ceased to be "infant," the tariff prop may be removed.

When the "infancy" period is over, the protectionists, having fastened their clutches on the Government, insist that the tariff prop continue. So with the business and professional men in the S. P. National Committee. At first the claim was that the S. L. P. was too solid for "beginners." With that, justification was sought for a party of "broadness." When, however, the new recruits ceased to be "beginners," the same professional and business interests were confronted with a new problem—the problem of keeping the blinkers on the "beginners" and keep them dwarfed to a "beginners" status. The problem was difficult. Calumny of the S. L. P. was resorted to in all manner of underground ways, and lures were held out with the rattle of prospective big votes to some "popular" Presidential candidate. All this notwithstanding the evidence increased of there being a tangible element in the S. P. that was no longer

at the "beginners" stage, and with many of whom, having become acquainted with S. L. P. literature, the slanders against the S. L. P. ceased to have weight. This growing and alerter element in the rank and file were pushed in the right direction. Conditions were pushing them:

First, the panic. The panic was the external manifestation of years of capitalist iniquities. The inevitable crash came, with the inevitable result—widespread suffering on the part of the working class. The prospect of a Socialist Movement presenting a continued divided front to the masses implied the prospect of loosing the panic opportunity;

Second, and as a consequence of the

first, the number of those were increasing

who refused to join the Socialist Movement "so long as it was divided";

Third, the Anarchist scare. This scare has reached its semi-acute stage in these days. Its fully acute stage is at hand. But, long before even the semi-acute stage set in, it was casting its shadow before it. The scheme was obvious from the start—to involve the Socialist Movement in the broil, and then have both jumped upon.

Under such circumstances, DUTY gave the command. The S. P., held by the throat by what the independent "Warheit" correctly calls "Business Socialism" did not obey the command. The S. L. P., being a self-governing body, stood upon no ceremonies of etiquette. It obeyed the command given by DUTY. It issued the invitation for Unity. How deadly to "Business Socialism" the S. L. P. was transpired from the conduct of the S. P. National Committee. They, the head of the "broad," the "autonomous," the "anti-Popery" S. P. did not dare to consult their rank and file. Disfranchising them from a word in the matter the "Business Socialists" of the

S. P. National Committee refused to confer.

Such a state of things is a "settler" of many things, but it is not a settler of "Disunity." On the contrary. Whatever is honorable, whatever is true, whatever is intelligent in the S. P. will rise in revolt at such an action. No honorable, no true, no intelligent Socialist will care to face the proletariat of the land in the pending national campaign—with the industrial panic driving the workers to Socialist meetings, and with the capitalist politicians persecuting Socialists under the pretense of prosecuting dynamite Anarchists—and be confronted with the cry: "Why do you not unite?"

The S. L. P. can face the cry. Its answer is ready. It was ready to unite.

The S. P. would not; would not even allow its members a chance to express themselves. "Why?" will be the natural question that would follow.

Disunity is not settled. The issue of Unity is just started. "Business Socialism" has furnished a new test to the Socialist. The Socialists will be found united—presenting a united front to the capitalist parties. Bogus or "Business Socialism," will be on the opposite side, contributing by its division to the capitalist furor against Socialism—and making hay while the sun of the political campaign lasts. Professional Socialism or Laborism, is essentially a business affair. Campaigns offer chances.

The path to Unity is now clear. Unity will be effected. And when effected the field will lie strewn with prostrate "business" candidates; shattered "business" editors; and the debris of the "business" schemes concocted against the storm-center of the Socialist Movement in the land—the indestructible, the Fighting S. L. P.

mine operators and still holds membership in the U. M. W.

The meeting was adjourned to next day. The labor leaders then forced the men back to work, refusing to give them transfer cards to work elsewhere, although some of the men had found jobs in other places. Thus these labor leaders are doing the work for the master class as the bloodhounds in the South do for their masters. They hold the men down and prevent them from shaking off the yoke of slavery.

Superintendent Eaton is sending down all kinds of powder and the men are compelled to use it. However, the men may strike again, and Eaton has sent a telegram for the same John Walker, Socialist Party member. These are the fellows who fight the Industrial Workers of the World. They know that their dirty work would be stopped by such an organization.

### IN MEMORY OF MARX.

Mass-Meeting Celebration at Progress Rooms.

Under auspices of the Russian Social Democratic organization and the "Bund" a mass meeting was held on the 13th of this month in commemoration of the anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, also of the Paris Commune and contemporary events. H. Slobodin was chairman. The speakers were O'Neill, Gurewitch, De Leon and an ex-member of the Duma.

De Leon said in substance that only that forenoon a lady visitor asked him what book he thought was the most read book. He answered, "Marx." Other books, the Bible, for instance, were found everywhere, but not one out of a hundred thousand who had them read them. Placing the emphasis upon READ—Marx was the most READ book of the Age.

The fact was of deep significance. Other Social Revolutions had preceded the Socialist Revolution—there was the Capitalist Revolution, before that the Feudal Revolution, before that the revolution that broke up the tribal and gentle formation of society, before that the great revolution which overthrew the mother-right, and may be said to have started capitalist property. Each of these marked great epochs in the history of mankind; but each was brought about unaided by human intelligence. Each came about upon the same principle that some else became tree climbers.

The force of the gradually accomplishing material changes of land and tides drove such else to start climbing trees. So with those other revolutions. The gradually changing material conditions in economics drove man from one revolutionary epoch to the next. No more than the eel, which was driven to revolutionize its life into tree-climbing, were the carriers of those previous revolutions guided by any literature. Even with the latest successful revolution of Capitalism, rich though its literature seemed to have been, the same was purely destructive. Not even so great a man as Franklin understood the real nature of the Social Revolution in which he was engaged and figured as a hero. Conditions drove them on, they moved forward blindly. Not so with our, the Socialist Revolution. We knew whence the trouble came, we knew with all necessary accuracy whether we were going. That was the boon of Marx to our generation. By the light of the towering and brilliant beacon that he raised we could pick our way as over a chart. And thus it happened that the pending Social Revolution was the first on record that came equipped with and gave daily birth to a superb literature—superb in quantity and in quality—destructive and CONSTRUCTIVE.

Every speaker following confined himself solely to a defense of the Socialist party. All of them missed or evaded the point that if the capitalist government is bound to support the men who put up the money for their election campaigns, so is the Socialist party bound to support craft unionism which puts up the money for them.

Another man said: "Industrial Unionism is all right, but the time is not ripe for it yet."

On taking the floor to reply, Miss Flynn stated that if she didn't know Socialist speakers she would be inclined to protest against the stuff she was expected to reply to. She said she was not here to settle the differences between political parties or whether they should or should not accept funds from unions, but to work and speak for the economic organization and answer criticisms on it. In reply to Davies she said that the opponents of the Industrial Workers of the World were those who should be its friends. "Yet our friends are ever ready at every point to stab us in the back. You, workingmen, Socialists, ought to be ashamed of yourselves to-night."

"No," she said, "thirty-five cents a month can not put up a fight, but the men who pay it can, and that's what we propose to fight with—men. The spirit of the man who is afraid to organize but who will speak and vote is not the spirit that will make your revolution."

The speaker closed amid great applause at 11:45, the greater part of the audience having stayed right to the finish.

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittance must state distinctly how long they are to run.

Agents are personally charged with and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.

## LOCKING HORNS

IN PHILADELPHIA ON TRADE UNION QUESTION.

Socialist Labor Party Men Staunch Uphold True Unionism—Socialist Party Men Disgrace and Dishonor Their Own Name and Would Prevent Solidarity of Labor.

Philadelphia, Pa., March 9.—Last night's meeting in Lewar's Hall, Ninth and Spring Garden streets, closed the series held under the auspices of the Industrial Workers of the World. A large amount of sound literature, Weekly People and Industrial Bulletin has been sold; a goodly number of new subscribers have been added to the list of Bulletin readers, and now members have been taken into the various locals.

The organization is beginning to find its feet here. This is especially true of the Dyers, which in the few weeks of their existence have jumped to the front, adding new members at every meeting.

The lecture last night was addressed by E. G. Flynn of New York, who held the large audience spellbound for two hours. She went into the details of the organization, its principles, policy and ultimate aim.

She held the attention of the audience throughout her lengthy address, unbroken by applause, but at the close the favorable sentiment was shown in long applause and loud expressions of approval.

Five minutes were allowed to each man who cared to discuss the question after her speech.

Among those taking part were Davies,

prominent official of the local Socialist party and former members of the Industrial Workers of the World, and Waite, an organizer of the local Socialist party and prominent craft unionist.

Davies attacked the Industrial Workers of the World on all sides, misrepresenting it as an organization torn asunder by internal dissension. He described the address as a beautiful word picture which would do nothing for the workers. He asked how can an organization put up a fight on thirty-five cents dues, and if we would take away from the workers the only thing they have got now, their present unions. Then Davies said that his party did not support the American Federation of Labor. McLure raised a tremendous storm in a tea cup by replying to Davies that if the Socialist party did not support the American Federation of Labor it went into every political campaign with funds supplied by them. He also stated that if discussion within an organization was evidence of disruption, the Socialist party is disrupted by the discussion going on in New York as to the Proletarian Society.

Every speaker following confined himself solely to a defense of the Socialist party. All of them missed or evaded the point that if the capitalist government is bound to support the men who put up the money for their election campaigns, so is the Socialist party bound to support craft unionism which puts up the money for them.

Another man said: "Industrial Unionism is all right, but the time is not ripe for it yet."

On taking the floor to reply, Miss Flynn stated that if she didn't know Socialist speakers she would be inclined to protest against the stuff she was expected to reply to. She said she was not here to settle the differences between political parties or whether they should or should not accept funds from unions, but to work and speak for the economic organization and answer criticisms on it. In reply to Davies she said that the opponents of the Industrial Workers of the World were those who should be its friends. "Yet our friends are ever ready at every point to stab us in the back. You, workingmen, Socialists, ought to be ashamed of yourselves to-night."

"No," she said, "thirty-five cents a month can not put up a fight, but the men who pay it can, and that's what we propose to fight with—men. The spirit of the man who is afraid to organize but who will speak and vote is not the spirit that will make your revolution."

The speaker closed amid great applause at 11:45, the greater part of the audience having stayed right to the finish.

See Agitation Committee.

(Continued on page 6.)

# NO MUNICIPAL HELP

CLEVELAND CITY COUNCIL GIVES NO AID TO WORKINGMEN.

Socialist Labor Party Man Tells Some Plain Truths to Meeting of City Fathers—Socialist Party Bogs and Limps for Alma.

Cleveland, O., March 8.—The contention of Socialist Labor Party speakers work mass meetings on the Public Square on the part that our City Council can render other relief to the unemployed workers save temporary employment for an insignificant few, and that in the end they would be recommended to public charity, has been officially substantiated.

Last Wednesday night a meeting was held in the Council chamber, the committee of Finance and Public Works of our city Council, together with Mayor Johnson and a committee of the unemployed, participating. At this meeting another contention of the Socialists, the intellectual bankruptcy of the ruling powers of present society, was also officially demonstrated.

The meeting had been called for the purpose of devising ways and means to furnish work for the unemployed masses. And what was the result? "We are very sorry indeed, but we can do no more than what has already been done." In other words, they can do nothing.

The Socialist party cut a most ridiculous figure for a revolutionary organization. Its committee marched up with a complete municipal platform in hand, in which a half dozen "immediate demands" were incorporated. This proved once again that there is but a step from reform politics to the dismal swamp of supinelessness.

After Mayor Johnson and City Solicitor Baker declared one demand after another as being impracticable because of insurmountable legal difficulties, the Socialist party committee condensed all its "brilliant" demands into a short resolution. It appealed to the general public for donations, both money and old clothes, to relieve the sufferings of the needy! And this resolution was finally adopted. The total result of the great political movement which the local Socialist party so noisily inaugurated is pitifully begging for alms. For such a purpose the unemployed army of the working class does not need a political party of Socialism. Any bourgeois reform councilman could have done the same thing and with far better grace.

But this is not all. Another reform resolution was adopted, the planting of potatoes in the late Pingree of Detroit. People who own vacant lots were to be asked to permit the cultivation of potatoes on their property by the "worthy poor." But what are the people in need to do between now and the time potatoes get ripe? Eat them while they are growing, evidently. The humor of the situation might produce uproarious laughter if the conditions were not so tragic.

When the pending resolutions, the appeal for aims of the Socialist party committee and the potato proposition of Mayor Johnson, were finally voted upon, Richard Koeppe was the only one who had the moral courage to vote against this insult to Labor. (Representatives of the unemployed were allowed to take part in the proceedings.)

Toward the close of the discussion of the resolutions Koeppe addressed the meeting. In part he spoke as follows: "Gentlemen of the City Council, I did not come here with any great expectations. With most of the demands of my friends of the Socialist party I do not agree at all. The unemployed workingmen do not want any municipal lodging-houses or municipal dining halls. Even if they did, these 'reforms' are too far away from realization to be of any benefit right now. What the unemployed want is WORK and they want it NOW! Can you give it to them? You say you can not; and you speak the truth. I understand your social and political position in society. The working class is a distinct class with distinct class interests. To further these interests the workers must have their own representatives in the City Council, and we, gentlemen of the Council, the Socialists, who alone can and do represent the working class, will sit where you are sitting now, and that day may be nearer at hand than you think. You, gentlemen, are consciously or unconsciously, representing the ruling class, which is not at all interested in making an end of this condition of enforced idleness, but which needs the army of the unemployed to force down the wages of those still at work. Degrading charity

and alms is all that you can offer the workers. You say you have no money! But when despair drives the hungry men into the arms of crime, then you find ample means and money to build prisons and to maintain and feed convicts. What an insane paradox in our social system!

"Again, you say that certain laws prevent you from giving relief. What is highest in your estimation life and honor of human beings or the dead letter of law? I say to you that the right to work should and must be upheld even at the expense of existing law. The violation of law may, under certain conditions, become a political virtue as the history of our own American nation proves in many instances. But that would be asking too much from you and I only came here to witness the official declaration of the intellectual bankruptcy of present society."

This session of the Council is the culmination of the farce which it and the Socialist party committee jointly inaugurated. No doubt, other sessions will follow, but will not be able to go beyond the status quo of reform and "potato politics." An interesting feature of this affair lies in the fact that our worthy Mayor, supported by the German bourgeois sheet, "Waechter und Anzeiger," is going to utilize this condition of idleness to make political capital for the Democratic party.

## INFLATING HAYWOOD

Declared Greater Than Wendell Phillips.

Philadelphia, March 9.—A couple of incidents that happened here lately are well worth making a record of in The People.

First, as to the city elections of last February. I am sending you a printed sample copy of the ballot. You will notice there the Socialist party having candidates for office in common with practically all other parties—Republican, Democratic, City, etc. This is, as far as I know, the result of a peculiar new primary law that made possible wholesale fraud at the primaries because of lack of information. The Socialist party is not to blame for this. But since I have heard that a Jewish Socialist party organ in New York has been boasting of a good Socialist party vote in Philadelphia, I wish to place the fact on record—that there was no such a thing as an S. P. vote in Phila. at the last elections—the candidates being largely the same as for other parties.

The second incident I wish to mention is the Haywood mass meeting of Sunday March 1. About 3,500 people were present. The chairman of the meeting was Ed. Moore, a national committeeman of the Socialist party. He dwelt at length on the outrages committed by the police at the so-called riot on Broad street only a couple of weeks ago, and the further outrage of convicting five poor Italians to long terms of prison for having their heads broken by the lawless police. His speech was one continuous attempt to grab the police present into breaking up the meeting. At the end of the speech the speaker presented a resolution which, after reciting the outrageous acts of the police during the riots, and of the judge in convicting the victims of police brutality, finished up with a declaration that—"We in mass meeting assembled join in a petition for pardon!" etc.

When the question was put to the audience whether there was any objection to a unanimous acceptance of the resolution, the undersigned protested against the part relating the begging for pardon. The protest was met with some applause from the audience and the chairman answered that this is not a meeting of Socialists, that there are non-Socialists present, and that therefore asking for pardon is not improper! The resolution was then declared carried unanimously without even calling for a vote.

As to Haywood—he is all what of late a "People" reader knows him to be. He is a small man. He evidently does not even comprehend the significance of his own case. He really imagines that he was persecuted because he was criticizing the Rep.-Dem. parties and was advocating the necessity of voting for the Socialist party ticket.

It is well worthy of note that the chairman in the course of his harangue declared in all seriousness that if Haywood is not as much a liberator of the white slaves as Lincoln was of the black slaves, then he, the chairman, does not really know what a liberator means. And Miss Luella Twining in her speech declared that Haywood is a much greater man than Wendell Phillips. That talk of this kind under the circumstances betrays the petty schemes of corrupt politicians in starting their presidential boomlets need hardly be stated.

L. K.

## POLITICAL ACTION

THE B. H. WILLIAMS'S MEETING AT ARLINGTON HALL, NEW YORK

The series of winter lectures, held under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party of New York City, closed on the 11th of this month with an address by B. H. Williams. The subject announced was "Industrial Unionism," and the speaker was announced in the advertisement as "National Organizer of the I. W. W.," and introduced as such. To those who expected to hear an explanation of Industrial Unionism by a national officer of the organization the lecture was a complete disappointment.

Williams began by saying he was going to express his "personal and private" views. Even these personal and private views hardly touched upon Industrialism. Some little time was given to that, but so little that the picture he drew of Industrialism presented hardly any contrast with such industrialistic A. F. of L. aggregations as the Building Trades. To those who already were posted on Industrialism a glimmer of difference was perceptible; not to others. The lecturer wholly failed in laying his foundations and establishing the conclusion, central with Industrialism, that its structure of organization places the Working Class in actual possession and control of the nation's machinery of production, and thereby enables it to execute the revolutionary act of supplanting the capitalist political State, and thus assuming the reins of Government. Barely fifteen minutes, injected in the middle of the lecturer's one hour and twenty-five minutes' speech, was at all upon Industrialism. All that preceded, and all that followed that short episode was upon politics, expressly and by name. It was mainly an assault upon the Socialist Labor Party by name, not with charges against its official acts, its official press, or its official representatives, but with charges against individual S. L. P. men said by the lecturer to have been met by him here, and yonder, and elsewhere. In answer to a question, he advised the S. L. P. to disband, and expressed the view that it was dying if not dead, anyhow. In the course of his speech he advised his audience to "forget Marx and study Industrialism," and also to quit using their "old, the S. L. P. language," and learn to speak the "new language." What that new language was, consumed the bulk of the speech to explain. Marx was reported to have said that only the economic organization of the working class could set up the true political party of labor. He could accept that only in a qualified form. He held that only the economic organization of the working class could reflect the true political interests of the working class. The explanation he gave of the difference of the two statements was too confused to reproduce in detail. In substance it consisted in considering the press, the pulpit, etc., "political institutions"; these Industrialists would take over by setting up its own lecture bureau, its own press, etc., without need of the ballot. Hours of work, etc. Industrialism would legislate upon the shop, also without need of the political ballot. The lecturer granted that, here and there, in a municipality, the Industrial Union might, under certain conditions, set up a political ticket, and use the ballot. But he was clear that such a thing as a national political party would never be reflected by Industrialism, and was not needed, and would be harmful because politics are corrupt. The substance of the new language was that the Preamble declaration to unite the working class upon the political and the industrial field, did not mean the use of the ballot. The substance of the new language was the repudiation of "political action."

A number of questions were asked at the close of the address, and then the floor was thrown open for discussion. De Leon, Editor of The People, spoke first. The meeting being held under the auspices of the S. L. P., he said, and the principles of the S. L. P. having been severely handled by the speaker, he demanded of the chair time to answer. The demand was granted, and he spoke for 40 minutes. He said he would not criticize the lecturer too severely on the defectiveness of his presentation of the structure of Industrialism, seeing the lecturer had devoted so little time to that, and most of his time to the issue of "political action." He thought the lecturer was wise in his generation to say that he expressed only his "personal and private views," seeing those views were surely not in keeping with the official acts of the I. W. W., down to the last convention, which approved of Heslewood's resolutions offered at Stuttgart and which, while recognizing the utter insufficiency of pure and simple political Socialism, expressly branded pure and simple physical force as an assassin of the Labor Movement, and expressly combined "political action" with the requisite force needed for its enforcement, and furnished by Industrialism. All the same, De Leon could

not admire the conduct of a man who allowed himself to be announced as a national officer of the I. W. W. and to be introduced as such, and then give his "personal and private views." The lecturer advised the audience to "forget Marx and study Industrialism." That was like advertising people to "forget Euclid, or any other work on geometry, and study architecture." Without geometry, architecture could not be studied. Droller still was his advice to forget the old S. L. P. language and learn to speak the new language. The "new language" spoken by the lecturer was the same old, stale language of pure and simple physical force. In fact, that alleged "new language" was a veiled dynamitism. In that circumstance, its being veiled, lay its worst mischief. Language, at best, was subject to misinterpretation. It was the duty of the propagandist to avoid confusing his hearers by ambiguous words. The lecturer had done that. "Politics" have a clear meaning, understood by all. The concept of "political action" was cast in a mold that implied the theory of the peaceful solution of social issues. The ballot was an indispensable element to that theory. To use the word "political" as the lecturer did was confusing. Worse still, it was duplicity. There was no alternative—where the ballot was to be wholly ignored, the only means left was physical force, pure and simple. He who meant that should say so. There were many dishonest men in the Anarchist camp, but they were not Anarchists; they were police spies. The Anarchist himself, irrational though his theory was, was a terribly earnest and honest man. He would spurn the veiling of physical force with the word "political." The S. L. P. was neither dying nor dead, as the lecturer certainly was aware of, or, if he was not, would certainly find out. The advice to disband and join the I. W. W. was not one in season. The I. W. W. was not yet strong enough to project its own political party. When that day should have come the S. L. P. would not need the advice. It was the thing it had been working for—the birth of the class-conscious economic organization, that is, the necessary physical force to back up the demands of that organization for the overthrow of capitalism, made upon the plane of civilized man, and that plane was "political action." The S. L. P. did not, the lecturer could not lay his finger upon a single "authorized act" of the S. L. P. to justify his charge that the S. L. P. tried to own the I. W. W. One thing, however, was certain, when the I. W. W. should have projected its own party that party would contain every one of the principles of the S. L. P., for the simple reason that the S. L. P. was a bona fide, strictly revolutionary party of Socialism. On the other hand, should the misfortune ever happen that the I. W. W. dropped into the alleged "new language" of the lecturer, then, so far from disbanding into the I. W. W., every S. L. P. man now in the I. W. W. would pull out. The S. L. P. was planted squarely across the path that led to Commune disasters. It declined to "forget Marx." It never would have upon its conscience the disaster that would inevitably follow the adoption of the lecturer's sinister "new language." Industrial Unionism could not gather the strength for the accomplishment of its mission if it read itself out of the pale of civilization, as it would if it rejected the ballot. Nor did the exposition of Industrial Unionism stand in need of any extensive discourses on politics. To give the preponderance of exposition to that, as the lecturer did, was to place the matter clean out of perspective. The Preamble of the I. W. W. all the official acts of the organization sufficiently placed it on the plane of civilized conduct.

The next speaker was James Connolly, an officer of the Industrial Council of New York. He began by finding fault with De Leon for having taken up so much time. [Violent, long, loud and prolonged applause from two pairs of hands in the hall.] Connolly proceeded to defend the lecturer and attack De Leon, who, he said, had "deliberately misrepresented the lecturer, as everybody in this hall knows." [Several voices from all over the hall: "How do you know?"]

The next speaker was Warlett. He had been alluded to by Williams as one of the S. L. P. men who injected politics at one of Williams's meetings. Warlett denied the correctness of Williams's statement, and gave a different version of the affair.

Edmund Seidel followed. In a terse

charlatanism which he exhibited in his article in "The Bulletin," claiming, with introductory remarks from Marx, that prices INvariably rose before wages.

Williams closed the discussion. He also claimed De Leon had misrepresented him, and then went into a rehearsal of the same equivocal exposition of "political action" that he had gone through in his speech, proving he had not been misrepresented. He was less audacious with regard to the criticism of his advice to "forget Marx." He had repeated the words too often, and the sentence was too short to give room for denial. He admitted having said that, but explained that what he meant was what he said at another meeting somewhere else, to wit, what a delegate at the last I. W. W. Convention had said to the same effect in view of there being "so many varieties of Marxism." The only clearly expressed thought uttered by Williams in his closing remarks, or throughout his speech, for that matter, was: "De Leon showed an absolute lack of knowledge of Industrial Unionism." [Again violent, long and prolonged applause from the same two pair of hands in the hall.]

The meeting adjourned at midnight.

## INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

Well Known Socialist Scores the Craft Unions in His Talk.

[From New Bedford Morning Mercury, March 9.]

Daniel De Leon addressed a fairly large audience in Odd Fellows' Hall yesterday afternoon, the meeting being held under the auspices of the Industrial Workers of the World, local branch No. 157.

Among the audience were many members of the Industrial Workers, some few members of craft unions in this city and some members of the Socialist party here, with a few men and women who are not identified with any union.

The subject of Mr. De Leon's talk was "Industrial Unionism," and at the outset, especially when he scored on the "capitalistic class," he was greeted with frequent applause.

At a particularly hearty outburst the speaker held up his hand and asked the spectators if they would not refrain from the applause till the end, and then if he had done anything or said anything which deserved applause, he wished the spectators to give expression, so he could know what had said had been appreciated.

This caution to the enthusiastic crowd

only partly stopped the applause, for

at least twice during the remainder of

the two hours that he talked, he was

greeted with outbursts of spontaneous

hand-clapping.

Mr. De Leon is one of the foremost Socialists in the country, and his talk was largely from this standpoint. At the outset he attacked the present industrial system, and said that the result was seen in the long line of bread seekers in New York city, where the soup line was not made up of foreigners, but of American workmen. He compared the conditions existing to-day at the house which let the wet in through a leaky roof, to a tenement which shakes with each puff of wind, to a tenement where the rats run up your legs, to a house which is not safe anyhow.

The speaker said that the working man must have truth and he must have it in his hand, so that no labor faker can come to him and humbug him. He said that industrialism was a growth, a development, and that it had developed out of craft unionism. He said that he would explain it as well as he could and went on to tell that the first union ever formed had the right idea, and it was formed on the proper lines. It provided that no man was eligible to that union unless he worked for an employer. It was not necessary that he have class consciousness, for he had that anyway, but it was necessary that he have some of the cobwebs swept from in front of his eyes so that he might raise the walls of asperion. The theory that the workmen and the employers were equal, sort of brothers, was a false theory. The workman may be physically the equal of the employer, but economically he is not. When the laborer sells his labor to you he sells himself. That was the first error. The second error is in believing that competition is the life of trade. The speaker went on to tell about the big Western telegraphers' strike two years ago, when the telegraphers, notwithstanding they had a strong union, were beaten, Mr. De Leon claiming that the "scabs" who were sent out west to take the places of the striking telegraphers did not break the strike, but that it was the union engineers, the union conductors, the union firemen and union trainmen, who transported the "scabs." It was the members of craft unions that did the trick.

He cited the case of a strike of the railway employees of New York some time ago, where every employee to a man on the cars went out, but the men—union men—in the power house remained at work, knowing the conditions, and allowed the cars to be run with Columbia's college students and others until the regular employees had to give in. The railway unions carried militia, he said, to stop a strike from spreading there. He cited many similar cases where the craft unions had worked against one another and caused many a strike to be lost. Craft unionism is built on the lines where competition is the life of trade. Craft unionism is the thing that is keeping the capitalistic ship afloat.

The speaker said that craft unionism could be compared to the modern steamer with her different water-tight compartments; if one compartment was punctured the other compartments kept her afloat until she reached port and could be placed in the dry dock. The Wall Street Journal well says: "The A. F. of L. is the bulwark of capitalism." The speaker told about the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and then this movement branched into the Industrial

Workers of the World movement, which the speaker said had come to stay. He said that in a Mexican city an effort was made to form unions on the lines of the Industrial Workers union, to organize all branches of a particular industry. This work went on with such success that the manufacturers found themselves in water up to their neck and they suddenly began to cry "Anarchy," with the result that many of the leaders of the new movement were driven from the place.

In the I. W. W., the speaker claimed was an organization established on a national basis for the future of society and for the future constituency of a parliament of labor, and on lines found in Washington's farewell address to his generals in which he urged them to beware of the men who told them they represented a beautiful part of the country and not to pride themselves on that fact, but to pride themselves that they were citizens of the United States. And the speaker said that he would urge all not to pride themselves on the fact that they belonged to any particular local, but on the fact that they were a part of the great movement.

## TO WEEKLY PEOPLE READERS

The Socialist Labor Party has undertaken a task of gigantic proportions in spreading the gospel of Socialism among the workers of the country. For many years we have carried on the publication of our papers and literature.

This caution to the enthusiastic crowd only partly stopped the applause, for at least twice during the remainder of the two hours that he talked, he was greeted with outbursts of spontaneous hand-clapping.

Mr. De Leon is one of the foremost Socialists in the country, and his talk was largely from this standpoint. At the outset he attacked the present industrial system, and said that the result was seen in the long line of bread seekers in New York city, where the soup line was not made up of foreigners, but of American workmen. He compared the conditions existing to-day at the house which let the wet in through a leaky roof, to a tenement which shakes with each puff of wind, to a tenement where the rats run up your legs, to a house which is not safe anyhow.

The speaker said that the working man must have truth and he must have it in his hand, so that no labor faker can come to him and humbug him. He said that he would explain it as well as he could and went on to tell that the first union ever formed had the right idea, and it was formed on the proper lines. It provided that no man was eligible to that union unless he worked for an employer. It was not necessary that he have class consciousness, for he had that anyway, but it was necessary that he have some of the cobwebs swept from in front of his eyes so that he might raise the walls of asperion. The theory that the workmen and the employers were equal, sort of brothers, was a false theory. The workman may be physically the equal of the employer, but economically he is not. When the laborer sells his labor to you he sells himself. That was the first error. The second error is in believing that competition is the life of trade. The speaker went on to tell about the big Western telegraphers' strike two years ago, when the telegraphers, notwithstanding they had a strong union, were beaten, Mr. De Leon claiming that the "scabs" who were sent out west to take the places of the striking telegraphers did not break the strike, but that it was the union engineers, the union conductors, the union firemen and union trainmen, who transported the "scabs." It was the members of craft unions

# THE WORKING CLASS

AND WHY TRUE SOCIALISM CONFINES ITS PROPAGANDA TO THAT CLASS.

Occasionally we meet persons, more or less imbued with utopian ideas, who urge us to carry the propaganda of Socialism to the small property holders, and even to the rich. "Make the movement broad," they cry, "and take in all classes." The Socialist Labor Party, however, confines its agitation to the working class. Why its agitation is confined to the working class, the following will show:

The establishment of Socialism means the overthrow of the capitalist system of production, which benefits the upper class and is productive of great misery to the working class. Whereas the machinery of production is now held and owned by the capitalists, under Socialism the machinery of production—land and capital, i. e., machines, tools, etc.—would be collectively owned by all the people, to be operated for the use of all and not as now for the private profit of the few.

The same as slavery was an injury to the individual slaveholder, and its abolition tended to promote his highest interests, so is the present system of private ownership in the implements of labor injurious, in the highest sense, even to the capitalist themselves, and its abolition would redound to the benefit of these as well.

One set of them rots in idleness, another wears itself out in a neck-breaking hunt after profits, and over the heads of all hangs the Damocles sword of bankruptcy, of shipwreck and of final downfall into the class of the proletariat—the class that has been stripped of all things necessary for production, except its labor power, which lest it perish outright, it is compelled to sell for starvation wages—happy if it succeed in doing that.

It would be thought from these premises that all classes of society, capitalists no less than proletarians, would join in the establishment of the Socialist Republic. The reverse is the case. The bulk of the property holding and exploiting class not only looks upon Socialism with suspicion, but stands up against it in an attitude of the most bitter antagonism.

Can this be due to ignorance simply? Indeed, so shocking are the conditions in modern society that no one wishes to be taken seriously in politics or in science dares any longer to deny the justice of the charges preferred by Socialism against the present social order. On the contrary, the clearest heads in all the various capitalist political parties admit that there is "some truth" in those charges; some even declare that the final triumph of Socialism is inevitable, unless society suddenly turn about and improve matters—a thing that these gentlemen imagine can be done offhand, provided this or that demand of this or that party be promptly granted and enforced. Others again admit unconditionally the ultimate triumph of Socialism, but—having the "one thing at a time" notion in their heads, and that thing always the wrong one—they ride a hobby, and fly off at a tangent.

Nor is the reason for this odd phenomenon hard to discover. Although certain important and not to be underrated interests of the property holding classes plead AGAINST the system of private ownership in the means of production, other interests, which lie nearer to the surface and are more quickly felt by property holders, pull in an opposite direction.

This is especially the case with the rich. They have nothing to gain forthwith by the abolition of private property in the means of production. On the other hand, the disadvantages that they could suffer are self-evident and would fall on the spot; the power and distinction they enjoy to-day would be gone at once, and not a few might be deprived also of their present ease and comfort in idleness.

Matters stand otherwise with the lower ranks of the property holding and yet exploited classes—the small producers, traders and farmers. These have nothing whatever to lose in point of power and distinction, and they can only gain in point of ease and comfort, by the introduction and development of the Socialist system of production. But in order to be able to realize this fact they must first rise above and look beyond the horizon of their own class. From the narrow field of observation occupied by the small producers, merchants and farmers the capitalist system of production cannot be understood, however much they may and do feel its narrowing effects, and, consequently, modern Socialism can be understood by them still less. The one thing they have a clear understanding of is the absolute necessity of private ownership in their own implements of labor in order to preserve their system of production.

## TO LUMBER AND WOOD WORKERS

TO ALL WORKERS OF WOOD, BE IT IN THE WOODS, ON THE DRIVE, IN THE SAW OR PLANING MILLS, IN FACT, IN EVERY BRANCH OF THE LUMBERING INDUSTRY, FROM THE STURDY LUMBERJACK IN THE FOREST, WHO SELLS AND HANDLES THE TIMBER, UNTIL IT REACHES THE SAW, TO THE SKILLED MECHANIC WHO FITS THE FINEST MOULDINGS, THIS LEAFLET IS ESPECIALLY ADDRESSED:

In all the great industries of the American continent the Lumbering Industry takes a prominent and important place; and of all the great industries where wage workers labor long hours for small pay, so that an idle few may be kept in luxury, there are very few where the conditions are more unbearable. There is no industry where the tollers *seen;ms;ip;oem;wyhrmmmw* or where the employers of labor are so thoroughly organized, as in this particular industry.

The employers of labor in the lumber industry realize the necessity of a thorough Industrial Union of Capitalists, so that they may take advantage of every opportunity to raise the price of lumber at one end and reduce the wages of their employees at the other.

The overstocked labor market and the unorganized plight of the workers who follow the lumbering industry, recently gave the capitalist lumbermen's association of the West the golden opportunity, which they seized with alacrity, to slash wages, as is evidenced by the unmerciful cut in wages which occurred simultaneously all along the line where this class of work is carried on.

With the employers who have banded themselves together to keep the price of lumber high and the wages of the employees low, no particular fault can be found, as it is a common trait among all capitalism; but the fault is to be found in the workers, for their indifference in the matter, in not organizing on the same lines as their employers, so that they might be an economic power, to GET ALL THEY CAN, AND HOLD WHAT THEY GET.

### Organization.

All intelligent workers realize that nothing can be accomplished without organization; your employers realized the necessity of an organization along industrial lines, so that they could act as a unit and stop competition among themselves. That is, they do not believe in scabbing on each other. It is easy for them to organize. They are few, while the workers are many. They are the masters and can not be dictated to, while the workers are slaves, and are often told what they can belong to and what they can not. This renders it more difficult to organize the workers; but however difficult, the workers must organize, and on the same lines as the masters—in an economic industrial organization.

There is only one organization which organizes the workers on this plan. It is the Industrial Workers of the World. The Industrial Workers do not believe in craft unions, where there may be scores of different unions in one industry, as exists in the American Federation of Labor, often scabbing on each other through the error of recognizing the false teaching of IDENTITY OF INTEREST between the workers and the employers, but on the contrary organizes all the workers in one industry into one union; such as Industrial Union to be co-partners and closely affiliated with the workers in the other industrial departments; it also condemns any such teaching as Identity of Interest between the employers and employees. The following extract from the preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World lays bare the plan of organization:

"The rapid gathering of wealth and the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade union unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class, because the trade unions foster a state of things which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. The trade unions and the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

"These bad conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike

may be, but the classes of those who have nothing to lose but their chains, and a world to gain—the Proletariat, the Working Class.

[This is No. 2 of the New Labor News, issued by the New York Labor News Co.; \$1 per thousand. First five numbers now in stock.]

or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making injury to one an injury to all."

This is the only form of organization that can successfully combat organized capital. The plan of organization is up to date. It is proper, it can not be improved upon, as it aims to supplant the present capitalist government with a workers' Industrial government, and when that day comes it will no longer be necessary for the workers to wander around hopelessly looking for a master to employ them, but will own and operate their own industries, and will be possessors of all they produce.

To attain these ideals, and in the meantime to make life worth living at all for the lumberworkers, the organization must be thoroughly established in every town and camp where the workers are engaged.

Some workers object to joining the organization on the ground that they are soon going to leave the particular place where they are working. This objection is a poor one, as the Industrial Workers transfer its members from one local to another, from one industrial department to another free of charge. For instance, should you decide to leave the lumber industry and go mining, the Mining Department would accept you on a paid-up card; one initiation fee does forever. This applies to every industry.

Another objection is that if the worker leaves the particular place where the I. W. W. is established there may be no local at his new place of work. This is easily overcome by either sending your dues along with your card to your secretary, or what is better, talk to the men and get a few together and send for the organizer to come and start a local. Any ten persons who are wage earners can have a local union.

Another objection is that "If I join your union I will lose my job." This is the hardest objection to overcome, as it goes to show what an abject state of slavery the worker has allowed himself to be lodged. It is the whine of a coward, and if a person who, by the very statement admits that he is whipped, is down and out, and has no longer the courage to face the stern battle of life, and at least try to keep his head above water. He admits the right of the lumber trust to impose any and all exactions. He has not the manhood or courage to raise a hand or lift his voice against such oppression. Such men as these merit nothing but contempt from their fellow workers, who are battling against the oppression of organized capital that they may enjoy more of the fruits of their labor.

Others object to belonging to an organization that is fighting for the rights of the workers, on the ground that they are satisfied with their jobs and their hours and wages. This is the statement of an ignorant person; ignorant of the fact that Labor produces all wealth and that labor should receive all that it produces. It is generally a man who is receiving very low wages and has long hours to work that makes a statement of this kind. He should also be classed with the man who is afraid of his job. Some of the highest paid men in the saw mills and in the camps are members of the Industrial Workers of the World, but they realize that Labor only receives one-fifth of what it produces and that the other four-fifths go into the hands of men who produce nothing. They also realize that to protect their own interest it is necessary for them to assist in bringing the most menial toil up to a higher standard of living. They realize the class struggle; the INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS AND THE MASTERS ARE NOT IDENTICAL, and they know that their class, the working class, should have as much right to organize and educate themselves as the masters have, and refuse to be dictated to by any mushroom aristocrat as to what he shall belong to. Every scheme is being used by the capitalist class to keep the workers from entering upon their proper course. The giving of Christmas presents, a few shares of worthless stock, a small raise of pay on the side to a few, so that the few will always be on the side of the master to help oppress the other workers, are all tributes to the intelligence of the masters and to the ignorance and cowardice of the subservient tool, the slave.

### Education.

The Industrial Workers of the World carries on its work of education and prints literature in every language, and no person need be ignorant of the workings or teachings of Industrial Unionism. It aims to teach its members that there is a class struggle in society, and that the struggle is caused by economic conditions; that the workers are fleeced out of four-fifths of the product of their toil, so that a few can live in idleness. It teaches the workers how to organize in every branch of an industry, and in all industries, and how to carry on such an organization, that when the proper time arrives, the workers instead of

being driven out into the street to starve and rot in idleness at the behest of a small coterie of men, that they will continue production in the shop and refuse to starve, and will operate the different industries for the benefit of the workers and not for parasites.

Fellow Workers: Do not be the easy prey of the Lumber Associations and trusts by keeping out of your Industrial organization. Remember, nothing can be accomplished without organization; follow the pattern set by your masters, and organize to get all you can and hold what you get.

No exorbitant initiation fees or dues are required to be an Industrial Worker. The initiation fee into all locals of Lumbermen is \$1.00, and the dues never exceed 50 cents per month. Ten wage earners can form a local and the charter outfit of books, seal, charter, cards, etc., costs \$10.00.

No throw this leaflet away, but talk matters over among your fellow workers, and see if you do not believe the conditions under which your work can be bettered, shorter hours established, and the life of the lumber worker, no matter what your occupation may be, improved in many ways by a thorough organization of the workers in every camp and town.

Mining in the West is no more important an industry than is lumbering; yet through the organization of that department no man works more than eight hours a day. There is no difference between a lumber worker and a miner; one is just as intelligent as the other, and there is no reason why an organization cannot be built in the near future that will be to the everlasting credit of the workers in the lumber industry.

Do not allow yourselves to again drop in a state of despair in this matter, but immediately join the lumbermen's local of the I. W. W., if there is one in your district; if not, at once send for an organizer to come and start a local. Any ten persons who are wage earners can have a local union.

Address all requests for organizers to Fred W. Heslewood, National Organizer, Box 175, Kalispell, Mont., or to J. H. Walsh, National Organizer, 110 Occidental ave., Seattle, Wash.

VINCENT ST. JOHN,  
Asst. Sec. and Gen. Organizer,  
212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill.

WM. E. TRAUTMANN,  
Gen. Sec. I. W. W.,  
212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill.

### SUE'S GREAT WORK.

The "Librairie du Progress," No. 3 rue des Grands Augustins, Paris VI, France, is issuing, in instalments at 2 francs a month, a new French edition of Eugene Sue's work, "The History of a Proletarian Family across the Ages," and says of this great work and its great author:

"Far above the common herd of novels, thrown for pasture to the masses that are greedy after knowledge, towers the wonderful, the superb work of historic truth and justice achieved by this matchless author.

"In this history of a proletarian family across the ages, Eugene Sue displays the highest qualities of style, and of brilliant narrative powers. Thousands upon thousands of copies of this masterpiece—"The Mysteries of the People"; or, "The History of a Proletarian Family across the Ages"—have spread in all directions. Its thrilling pages have caused the soul of every lover of liberty alternately to freeze with terror and vibrate with exaltation. None, among our contemporary writers, has known better than Eugene Sue to stir and fire the spirits of men, to make them laugh and weep, and at once to instruct them."

The "Librairie du Progress" might have added that the first English translation of the full set of stories has been undertaken by the publishing department of the Socialist Labor Party—the Labor News Co., 28 City Hall Place, this city; that already five of the stories are out; that four more are now going through the press; that the publication of the complete set, the other ten stories, is now assured; and that every lover of history, of freedom and of literature in America acclaims the work with the enthusiasm that the work is acclaimed in its native France.

### RUBBER SHOE MILL CLOSED; 1,500 LABORERS OUT OF WORK.

Woonsocket, R. I., March 14.—The Alice Rubber Shoe Mill and the Millville Rubber Boot Mill of the United States Rubber Company closed to-day for an indefinite period. About 1,200 employees are thrown out of work.

### FOREIGN DICTIONARIES.

Italian-English and English-Italian.  
German-English and English-German.  
Spanish-English and English-Spanish.  
French-English and English-French.  
Swedish-English and English-Swedish.  
Price 75 Cents Each—Postage Pr'd.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.

### SECTION CALENDAR.

Under this head we shall publish standing advertisements of Section headquarters, or other permanent announcements. The charge will be five dollars a year for five lines.

Section San Francisco, Cal., S. L. P. Headquarters, Hungarian Socialist Federation, Lettonian Socialist Labor Federation, 883 McAllister street.

Los Angeles, Cal., Headquarters and public reading rooms at 409 East Seventh street. Public educational meetings Sunday evenings. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings.

Section Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P., meets every alternate Sunday at 356 Ontario street (Ger. Am. Bank Bldg.) top floor, at 3 P. M.

Headquarters Section Cincinnati, O. S. L. P., at 1414 Race street. General Committee meets every second and fourth Thursday. German, Jewish and Hungarian educational meetings every Wednesday and Sunday. Open every night.

S. L. P., at 1 W. W. Hall, 12th and Jackson streets. General Committee meets every second and fourth Thursday. German, Jewish and Hungarian educational meetings every Wednesday and Sunday. Open every night.

Section Spokane, Wash., S. L. P. free reading room 110 Bernard st. Visiting comrades, I. W. W. members and all others invited. Business meetings every Sunday morning at 11 a. m.

Section Allentown, Pa., S. L. P., meets every first Saturday in the month at 8 p. m. Headquarters 815 Hamilton street.

Section Providence, R. I., 81 Dyer st., room 8. Regular meetings second and fourth Tuesdays of each month.

New Jersey State Executive Committee, S. L. P.—J. C. Butterworth, Secretary, 110 Albion ave., Paterson; A. Lesig, Financial Secretary, 266 Governor street, Paterson, N. J.

Chicago, Illinois.—The 14th Ward Branch, Socialist Labor Party, meets every 1st and 3rd Sunday, 2 p. m. sharp, at Friedmann's Hall, S. E. corner Grand and Western avenues. Workingmen and women are cordially invited.

Section Seattle, S. L. P., headquarters, free reading room and lecture hall, No. 2000 Second avenue. P. O. address, Box 1040.

Section Salt Lake, Utah, meets every Wednesday, 8 p. m. Rooms 4 and 5, Galen Block, 69 East 2nd and So. St. Free Reading Room. Weekly People readers invited.

All communications intended for the Minnesota S. E. C. should be addressed to Otto Olson, 310 7th ave., So. Minneapolis, Minn.

Section St. Paul, Minn., S. L. P., holds a business meeting every second Sunday in the month at 10 a. m. at Federation Hall, cor. 3rd and Wabash streets.

Watch the label on your paper. It will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third, the year.

There is every reason why the militant Socialist should keep up with the events of the times. In the first place that he is posted himself. In the second place that he may post others. The Daily People will keep you posted. Try it for three months which costs but One Dollar. Send in your subscription To-day.

## KEEP POSTED

DAILY PEOPLE

P. O. Box 1576

New York.

Price  
Five  
Cents

## THE BURNING QUESTION OF TRADES UNIONISM

A Lecture Delivered at Newark, New Jersey, on April 21st, 1904, by

DANIEL DE LEON



NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.

NEW YORK, N. Y.

**S**OUND **C**IENTIFIC **L**ABOR **E**RARY **P**OPULAR **O**ROPAGANDA **A**MPHLETS

## WEEKLY PEOPLE

28 City Hall Place, New York.  
P. O. Box 1576. Tel. 129 New York.  
Published every Saturday by the  
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY,  
Henry Kuhn, National Secretary, pro tem;  
Adolph Orange, National Treasurer.

Entered as second-class matter at the  
New York Post Office, July 13, 1900.  
Owing to the limitations of this office,  
correspondents are requested to keep a copy  
of their articles, and not to expect them to  
be returned. Consequently, no stamp  
should be sent for return.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 . . . . .	2,068
In 1892 . . . . .	21,157
In 1896 . . . . .	36,564
In 1900 . . . . .	34,191
In 1904 . . . . .	34,172



Subscription Rates: One year, \$1.00;  
six months, 50c.; three months, 25c.

All communications for the Weekly People, whether for editorial or business departments, must be addressed to: The Weekly People, P. O. Box 1576, New York City.

Subscribers should watch the labels on their papers and renew promptly in order not to miss any copies.

Subscribers will begin to get the paper regularly in two weeks from the date when their subscriptions are sent in.

SATURDAY, MARCH 21, 1908.

In nature fat soil is carried down from the heights to the valleys; but in the body politic the depths rather fatten the heights.

—JEAN PAUL RICHTER.

TID-BITS FROM BACHE.

From the "Weekly Financial Review" issued by the banking firm of J. S. Bache and Co. a number of tid-bits may be scraped together.

No. 1.

"Before prosperity can begin, comes, with the throwing out of employment of many thousands, a reduction of wages. We have not yet had this reduction in wages, and WITHOUT IT PROSPERITY CANNOT BEGIN."

This means an admission of the Socialist position that the prosperity of the capitalist is dependent upon the misery of the worker. It is an admission that knocks into a cocked hat the capitalist motto about "The Brotherhood of the Capitalist and the Working Class," and proves the Socialist claim that the motto is a nursery tale to cheat gullions with. The statement is a further recognition of the keen Marrian observation to the effect that, once capitalism is set arolling, the Capitalist Class can and does make hay whether the sun shines, or whether rain falls. When the sunshine of prosperity is upon him, the capitalist makes large profits by fleecing large numbers of workers; when the rain of adversity is on, reductions in wages take place, and when his prosperity returns he makes just so much more. The reduced basis of wages yields him larger profits. The greater depths of the workers' misery is the measure of the taller heights of the capitalists' affluence.

No. 2.

"If demagogic and Socialistic legislation becomes too obtrusive, it has recently been proved that the Courts are a sufficient protection."

This, in turn, proves the keen Marrian principle that the Capitalist Class live in a fool's paradise; moreover, that their vaunted intelligence is away below mediocrity. The passage proves that the capitalist does not know that there is such a thing as the "impeachment" of Judges, and the grabbing of them by the slack of their reputations, and throwing them, as Artemus Ward would put it, "into the hoss-pond of oblivion." If "demagogic and Socialistic" power can grow strong enough to indulge in "demagogic and Socialistic legislation," none but inmates of a fool's paradise will place their reliance on the Courts. Every inmate of the House of Reason will realize that "demagogic and Socialistic" power will not confine itself to legislation, but will run the Courts as well.

No. 3.

"There never was a time yet in American business when this every-four-year calamity [a Presidential election] did not have its malaria effect."

Soho! Presidential elections are an "every-four-year calamity" to business? If so, it must be to the interest of Sir Business to have the calamity occur at longer and still longer intervals—say, make it an "every-eight-year" calamity; or, better still, an "every-thirty-year" calamity. When one starts to put off the day of a calamity, the natural tendency is to avoid the calamity altogether. Why not set up a hereditary monarchy, and be done with the "calamity"?

The long and short of this tid-bit is that capitalism in America is letting the cat out of the bag. The secret is out that capitalism—which starts with "democracy" as its motto, and the Goddess of Liberty, with Phrygian cap on, its emblem—is at the end of its

tether, and has now to crawl back and seek shelter in monarchic rule. Out of American Capitalism will be born the Socialist Republic.

\* \* \*

The Bache tid-bits tell the tale loudly enough. The day of "demagogic and Socialist" rule is drawing nigh. All hail the day!

THE CAPITALIST INTERNATIONAL.

The Madrid, Spain, "El Socialista" of the 28th of last month contains this item:

"The population of the town of Riotinto is disappearing gradually on account of the houses sinking through the excavations made under them in the digging of the galleries of the copper mines, the property, as everybody knows, of a British syndicate.

"What remains unascertainable is the extent of the catastrophe. The mining company uses all means to prevent information of what is happening from leaking out to the outer world.

"What need is there," asks the considerate Company, "of alarming people with distressing reports?"

"Above all, let the dividends be safeguarded, even if the workers who produce them are flattened out."

"There will not be wanting others to take their places."

Change the name of the Spanish town into that of many an American settlement, and the rest of the facts will be found to bear startling resemblance:—ruthless disregard of other people's property by syndicate "Pillars of Property"; ruthless disregard of human life by syndicate "Pillars of Law and Order"; vandalism committed in one country by syndicates of another country, and quietly tolerated, fostered, protected and profited from by native syndicate "Pillars of Patriotism"; cruel producers of catastrophes by syndicate "Pillars of Philanthropy" who "use all means" to save the dear people at large the pangs of the knowledge of what is actually happening.

The "Workers' International" is decimated by the "Capitalist International" as a destroyer of Law, Order, Patriotism, Humanity, Religion, etc., etc. Is there any Law, Order, Patriotism, Humanity, Religion left to be destroyed by the most savage Hun, after the "Capitalist International" has "trekked" through the "veld"?

#### WALSH A MARTYR.

John R. Walsh, ex-President of the Chicago National Bank, has been sentenced to five years' penal servitude in the penitentiary. Walsh, as president of the bank, loaned vast sums of the bank's deposits to private undertakings—manufacturing, railroad and mining—started and owned by himself. In other words, Walsh used his bank presidency to appropriate to his own uses the funds entrusted to his management. That was his offence, and for that he is now to suffer.

That Walsh's act was an immoral one need no argument. That he was guilty of moral turpitude is evident. Nevertheless the man is a martyr; in fact, he is made a scapegoat of.

What office-holding politician is there who is not equally guilty? From the President down to any municipal councilman, and criss-cross across all public offices, where is the incumbent who is clean of the identical turpitude for which Walsh's hair is to be cropped short, his whiskers shaved, and his anatomy covered with the striped suit of the penitentiary?

However large the salary of any office-holder may be, his savings are not enough to keep him after the expiration of his term. In many instances it is publicly recognized that the salary is not enough to keep the incumbent even during his incumbency. This admission has been notably made with regard to our leading embassies abroad, the appointees to which, it is admitted, must have an "independent income." The long and short of the story is that office-holders must be investors of some sort—either they must be such as to enable them to hold their office, or they must be such out of their savings during their terms. Now, then, there is no investment conceivable, whether it be in land, or stocks, or bonds, or factories, or mines, or railroads—or what not, that does not lead for its very existence upon the Government. Separately and collectively, private productive property, or "capital," rests upon Government collectively. Walsh made "loans" to himself. What do office-holders do but legislate or decree for themselves?

The case of Walsh is but a microscope magnification of an evil that is inherent in capitalist society. Walsh but acted obedient to the atmosphere of his social system. The man is a martyr, and the society that condemns him is but trying to make a scapegoat of the fellow. But the day is gone by when the sins of a people may be atoned by the blood of a goat. The deity that once presided over that sort of thing is gone forever. As Mason put it—the Nations can not be punished in another

world, they are punished in this; by an inexorable chain of causes and effects Providence punishes National sins with National calamities.

Capitalist society will itself have to suffer for its own sins. No scapegoating will do.

YOKES, NOT CONTRACTS.

A Chicago clothing firm employs no workingman or woman who does not sign the following document:

"For and in consideration of the agreement by [here follows the name of the firm], this day made, to give me employment, I hereby agree:

"1. That I may receive as compensation for my services such sum or sums of money as in the judgment of the said [here follows the name of the firm] my services may be reasonably worth, and that they shall be the sole judges of, and have the sole and exclusive right to judge and fix the value and price of my labor.

"2. That notice to quit the employ of the said [here follows the name of the firm] is hereby expressly waived, and that I may be discharged at any time that the said [here follows the name of the firm] may in their judgment no longer require my services, without any prior notice, either written or verbal; and that I shall accept such pay as in their judgment I may have earned, or in keeping with any agreement that may have been made at any time after the date of this agreement.

"3. And that I will pay for, or allow to be deducted from whatever sum of money which may be due me as aforesaid, all damages which I may cause to any garment or garments upon which the same appears, in the judgment of [here follows the name of the firm] so that they may not be the losers by my ignorance, fault or misjudgment."

The only thing wanted to this document is the closing word "Amen." This thing is called a contract.

Documents do not create, they reflect conditions. The conditions indicated by this document should give cause to pause. It indicates a growing state of things in which, for the sake of a crumb, increasing numbers of the country's proletariat feel compelled to place themselves at the mercy of the employer.

The above document is not a "contract." It is a yoke of enslavement. So are all "contracts" between employer and employee. With some the yoke is padded, with others it is left hard to gall the neck of the yoked wage slave.

#### WHO WOULD BE BENEFITED?

Under the caption "Will the Banks Answer This?" the "Commoner," Wm. J. Bryan, editor and proprietor, asks why the banks should not give their depositors security the same as the U. S. Government demands security for its deposits when placing them in banks. The question put by the "Commoner" reveals the need, not of the whole of the people, but of a particular element of the people—the business men whom the closing of banks hits.

We shall not go into the abstract justice of the question; nor shall we comment upon the much vaunted "risks" of capital so often opposed to the workingman's demand for a larger share in his product. We shall simply use the incident as an illustration of the special interest character, and therefore class character, of so-called "public measures."

Who is it that would be benefited by legislation demanding the banks to furnish their depositors security? It is the depositors. Of what class of the community are the afflicted depositors made up? The recent financial nightmare has answered this question. The lines of men waiting for hours to withdraw their deposits from shaky financial institutions were not representatives of the wage working class. Labor was not excited and holding stockholders' and depositors' meetings. This was a predicament affecting business men. And for the same reason that these were the special interests who suffered in the disarrangement of their dearly loved "business system" would they be the ones to be benefited by holding gilt-edged securities on their deposits.

But what of the wage-earning people, are they to join in a demand to secure the interests of their employers and leave their own conditions as workingmen uncared for? Well, true charity is noble, and mercy is twice blest, but in an age of teaching that "charity begins at home"; that "self-preservation is the first law of nature," and that "the survival of the fittest is the law of existence"—what would the supplicants at the bar believe?

The working people would not be benefited by entering into a campaign to pass reform legislation of the kind asked; they cannot be benefited by any dabbling in capitalist politics; they must concern themselves with remedying their own state of affairs, and to do that means a complete re-setting of the scenes on the stage of human history. Capitalism, the outgrowth Political Commonwealth, must go, and Socialism, the Industrial Commonwealth, step in the former's place.

The case of Walsh is but a microcosm magnification of an evil that is inherent in capitalist society. Walsh but acted obedient to the atmosphere of his social system. The man is a martyr, and the society that condemns him is but trying to make a scapegoat of the fellow. But the day is gone by when the sins of a people may be atoned by the blood of a goat. The deity that once presided over that sort of thing is gone forever. As Mason put it—the Nations can not be punished in another

#### A FENCE-RIDERS DILEMMA

A resident of New York, having forwarded to Congressman Bourke Cockran a clipping from The People on the doings of Congress, received from Mr. Cockran an answer in which this passage occurs:

"I should explain that I do not use the word democrat in its conventional but in its broadest sense. I employ the term not to describe a member of a political party, but rather, man who holds it a cardinal principle of government that the State, instead of being allowed to control all production, should be excluded from any interference whatever with individual industry, its functions being confined to protecting each man in the enjoyment of everything that he may produce by a system of laws that leaves him absolutely free to dispose as he pleases of his own labor and of all its fruits."

We shall not put Mr. Cockran to the strenuous task of hunting up his authority for declaring it to be a cardinal principle of government that the State shall be excluded from any interference whatever with individual industry. We prefer to hold Mr. Cockran's nose to the grindstone of himself. From his seat in Congress, on February 3rd of this very year, the gentleman advanced the following theory (Congressional Record, page 2105):

"Our political system has undergone a silent but radical revolution during the last few years, that the greatest powers in the community were no longer exercised in legislative bodies, in the council chambers of cabinets, or in the offices of a chief executive, but in the rooms where a few men direct the administration of great corporations or plan new corporate enterprises. True, there has been no change in the outward structure of our institutions, but the most profound revolutions have been those that affect not the form but the substance of government. All the forms of republican government survived in Rome long after the Republic itself had been replaced by absolute despotism. The atrocities of Caligula and Nero and Domitian, perpetrated under the authority of a republic, show that forms the most venerable may be preserved to perpetration of oppressions the most atrocious. And so, sir, the outward structure of our Government remains wholly unchanged. Not merely does our Constitution survive in form, but all our constitutional formulas are still acknowledged universally and invoked exclusively."

"Constitutionally each man has the right to go where he pleases, to work when he pleases, for whom he pleases, and for what he pleases, but between him and the exercise of the rights of property he is subject to the Constitution never contemplated and which government does not control. Practically no man can take one step from his own door to engage in the ordinary competitions of life except on conditions and terms fixed by some corporation operating a transit system, controlled by a few persons—generally by one—with whose selection government has nothing to do, whose orders and regulations, though binding on a whole community, government hardly pretends to regulate. What avails it a citizen that legally, constitutionally, theoretically he can sell his labor for what he pleases when the value of the wages he may earn is fixed absolutely by a few men in whose selection he has no voice, whose course he can not control or even influence? The cost of implements necessary to his calling, of the clothes that cover him, the food he eats, the fuel he burns, the materials used in constructing the house that shelters him, are all determined absolutely and even arbitrarily by some half a dozen men, who are also believed to control the chief highways of commerce throughout the country, and, therefore, the immense capital necessary to their operation. With the vast banking deposits which bind the control of production and transportation places at their disposal these same men dominate the financial institutions of every great city. And thus they govern not merely the volume of production and the means of transportation by which commodities are exchanged, but also, through control of the banks, they regulate credit, which is the very lifeblood of commerce.

If generally adopted by the government in the post offices in large cities, they would result in a considerable decrease in the staff of postage stamp sales clerks.

Kerr belongs to the Socialist Party which has five times more members than the Socialist Labor Party.

The S. P. supports a policy of cooperation with neutralistic labor unions and it has the federative principle for its foundation. The S. L. P., on the contrary, opposes with entire frankness the labor unions which accept the principle of harmony between the capitalist and the working class, and, after the manner of our German comrades, it inclines to centralization. Moreover, violent polemics have embittered the combatants of the two camps and it gives us pleasure to state now that Kerr puts at last an end to the absurd story (legend), which was circulated against the leader of the S. L. P., and according to which Daniel De Leon was playing the game of the capitalists for unmentionable motives. The truth is that De Leon, as an adversary, is very severe—he has Spanish blood in his veins—he is an upholder of the principle of "no-compromise," determined enemy of anything that looks like a deal with the capitalist class. His tactics, of a fanaticism that does not try to rouse but appeals to voluntary support, have turned away from him many Socialists inclined to a moderation, sometimes, perhaps, excessive.

In the same issue of the above review Kerr publishes a very remarkable [Indeed it is "very remarkable"]—B. R.] article of professor John Curtis Kennedy on the progress of Socialist ideas in labor unions from the three view-points of—class-consciousness,—participation in the political movement,—and of acceptance of collectivist principles of International Socialism.

Kennedy shows, with an abundance of evidence [!!!—B. R.] that the American labor unions are abandoning one after the other, the old error of Samuel Gompers, the vice-president of the notorious "National Civic Federation," [!!!—B. R.] which was organized by capitalists a la Hanna, upholders of harmonious relations between all good citizens, on the condition of maintaining the wage system. Political activity of the organizations of employers has induced the workers to follow the examples of their masters and, at last, more than 360,000 organized workers have officially accepted declarations of Socialist principles and many (professional) trade associations, which are not included in that number, are already supporting papers which are avowedly Socialist. The day when the high officials of the American Federation of Labor will have disappeared and when out propaganda will have produced its entire effect, the sudden leap of these three million workers upon the solid shore of Socialism will cause to tremble, not only the capitalist class of America, but the entire capitalist class of the world.

motion, evolution, the rise of new conditions, that create new duties.

We shall leave the Rev., or Hon., or whatever he be, Cockran to extricate himself from the meshes of his own contradictions. All that the figure he cuts is good for is to serve as a foil to SOCIALIST REASON.

The principle of "government" is the reverse of the principle of "patents." A RESULT can not be patented; what is patentable is a MEANS. Just the reverse with "government." Its principle is the attainment of certain RESULTS: the MEANS are left to the changing material conditions. The RESULT that government aims at is the life, liberty and happiness of the people. That is the starting point. That, and that only, is cardinal about government. All else—statutes, constitutions, decisions, etc., etc.—is MEANS; and all such MEANS are incidental, variable, subject to modification, alteration, and even overthrow—according as the changing material conditions may prove the previous MEANS to have become destructive of the cardinal RESULT. Accordingly, when material conditions were such that only an oligarchy of the population considered itself the people, whose life, liberty and happiness it was the aim of Government to provide for, mankind had theocratic monarchies, with the MEANS to suit, of which the Czar's regime is to-day a vestige. When, later on, material conditions so changed that a larger area of the population considered itself the people, the MEANS that suited the theocratic monarchy went by the board, and non-theocratic, more or less constitutional monarchies stepped in with the necessary modified MEANS. When still later on, in this country, for instance, material conditions had changed so much more that a still broader area of the population considered itself the people, the further result was that still newer MEANS became imperative to obtain the cardinal result; monarchy was swept away; the bourgeois republican MEANS were set up. Finally, to-day, when the evolution of material conditions has radically changed the previous material conditions—how radically Mr. Cockran's speech unguardedly indicates!—has changed them so radically that now the whole population aspires to the dignity of "the people," then the old MEANS have in turn become obsolete and harmful. While oratorical and pictorial false reasoning may now, as it did on previous occasions, temporarily bolster up the old and inadequate MEANS, the old and inadequate MEANS are now, in turn, bound to be swept aside by the MEANS which modern conditions demand. The MEANS of capitalist political Government must and will make room for the MEANS of the Socialist, or Industrial Republic.

It appears from a comparison of Mr. Cockran's letters with his speeches that the gentleman has two sets of "cardinal principles": one for oratorial display, another for epistolary "fence-fixing." Who will now dare to say that the United States Steel Corporation is a Trust or a monopoly? The Corporation is announced to have 95,000 stockholders. Is it not absurd to talk of "monopoly" when a thing is owned and run by 95,000 people? So it would be; but if these figures were to be examined it would be found that—perhaps no more than 10 men own 95 per cent. of the stock, while the remaining 5 per cent. of the stock is owned by 94,990 people, all of whom together stand as an imp

# THE PARIS COMMUNE

By Charles H. Ross.



[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

#### CAPITALIST CONFISCATION.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—A young fellow came to me and told me he did his day's work on that day appraising property for the city to take for the water works. "I appraised," he said, "a lot for \$75. This belonged to a poor woman, who a year or so ago paid \$400 for it."

I asked him how he could do that. I told him he robbed the poor woman out of \$325. "Well," he said, "near that, I can buy land for \$500 an acre." I reminded him that the Title Guarantee and Mortgage Company claim that the value of land is what one man is willing to give for it and for what another is willing to part with; that they gauge their mortgages according to that rule. "Well, you see," he says, "the city tells us the fair valuation, but if we do not put things low enough we get the bounce."

C. C. Crolly.  
Pleasantville, N. Y., Mar. 9.

#### COLORADO'S CONSPIRACY DEBT.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The State of Colorado is about to issue bonds to the amount of \$900,000, to cover the expenses of suppressing "lawless contests between labor and capital" in 1899, 1903, 1904, and the Haywood trial.

This issuance of bonds shows the difference between the Western Federation of Miners and the enemies of that organization. The funds to free Haywood came out of the pockets of the working class of America, and the monies expended by Gov. Gooding and his ilk—comes out of the State coffers.

That's why labor organizations must get into politics—if for no other reason than to prevent in the future the drafting of the life's blood of the treasury of their organizations—as was the case with the W. F. M. in the famous conspiracy trial last year.

Claudius.

#### MIXING DRINKS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—T. A. Hickey, representing the Socialist party, is speaking on the street corners here this week, and incidentally taking up collections to defray his expenses as a delegate to the party convention in Chicago, May 10th. Hickey's speeches are the characteristic talks of Socialist party orators—viz., join the union of your craft, the Gompers' trade union, which he calls "the economic arm of the S. P." and force up the wages of \$477 per capita until it absorbs the per capita production of \$2,482 of the workers. Of course we all know how Gompers has laid down after the kicks, slaps and knock-outs his so-called "unions" have received in the courts, and it is to laugh when one is asked to believe that his trade union would enforce a fair count of a Socialist ballot; or that men who are taught that Capital and Labor are "brothers" have any conception of the class struggle or Socialism; or that the Gompers outfit will do anything to enlighten them. Hickey needs the money, and that's why he advocates his peculiar and pernicious doctrines. Don't know how he stands on the unity proposition, especially one that would "harmonize" such dope with Industrialism and the clear-cut politics of the Socialist Labor Party, but if he has such a scheme he is a good "mixer."

A. S. Dowler.  
El Paso, Tex., March 7.

#### WHO ARE THE POPES IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT?

To the Daily and Weekly People:—On Feb. 20th there appeared in "Miners' Magazine" an article, Berger's motion on the Socialist Labor Party Unity proposal, which is a misstatement, and should be shown as an International call, and if the editor of O'Neill's Magazine was fair he would rectify the misleading impression of the headline in his magazine.

Concerning the popery, which undoubtedly induced him to publish Berger's motion on Unity, caused me to investigate to find out where the popery lies.

As a member in good standing of Globe Miners' Union, No. 60, on or about 1st of February, 1908, I wrote a question to John M. O'Neill something as follows: "See in the issue of the 'Miners' Magazine' a call for a convention of a new I. W. W., in which both factions were invited. I wish you to inform me where two factions exist, and also request

him he was reinstated by Organizer Williams and that I had an awful nerve to talk about a Simons or a Hillquit. When Kunkel spoke all was so still that you could have heard a pin drop—yet when he had finished and I attempted to answer, the Socialist Party men started yelling like Indians to prevent anything being heard that would tend to destroy their heroes. These are the people who haw so loudly about free speech.

The club that Kunkel and Moffett wield of Vindication Tales, if examined closely would appear about the size of a toothpick and just about as strong. These two worthies killed the Industrial Workers of the World here and their record proves it.

Robert Richardson.  
Rochester, Pa., March 8.

#### AS TO EXPLOITATION AND ROBBERY.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I am no authority on Marx, but still I think that Frank Bohm contradicts Marxian economics when he claims in his answer to Mooney that the working class is being robbed as a consumer. Marx throughout his works never said that the working class is being robbed, but he shows where it is exploited by the capitalists after they buy the labor-power of the workers.

Bohn's assertion that the increased prices of commodities are chiefly due to monopoly is not substantiated by facts. In the stockyards district where I live the rents went up from 50 to 100 per cent, and it was not due to a monopoly either, but it was solely due to an increased demand for the rents. The great influx of laborers into this country created a bigger demand for commodities and naturally forced their prices higher, but at the same time the labor market was flooded to such an extent that it was impossible for the commodity labor-power to keep even pace with the increasing prices of other commodities. However, it is a mistake to say, as Bohn does, that the wages remained about the same for the last ten years. Actual facts show that the wages in the Building Industry in Chicago were raised as high as 75 per cent, and what is true in this case is also true in almost every other industry, only with the exception that the percentage did not reach as high as in the first. On account of the crisis in 1894 the wages went down almost to the minimum point, but according to Bohn's figures the wages are the same to-day, and; moreover, they are cut down to half by the increased prices of commodities. What an absurdity!

"Cheap commodities make cheap laborers and dear commodities make dear laborers," said Marx, and this is as good to-day as it was when spoken by Marx. We are all buyers and sellers. We sell in order to buy, and we buy in order to sell. Then what good would it do if the sellers overcharged their goods when in turn they will be buyers themselves? It would be mutual cheating and consequently no profit for anybody. "Circulation or exchange of commodities begets no value," said Marx, and the only way for the capitalist class to make more surplus value is to either reduce the wages, if they can be reduced, or make the laborers work harder and longer time, or improve the machinery by which the labor can be made more productive, thus cheapening the commodities including the labor-power. These facts were made clear by Marx in his analysis of capitalist production and the Socialists of to-day have still much to learn from him.

Ad. Uzlik.  
Chicago, Ill., Feb. 20.

#### AS TO UNITY.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The National Committeeen, the powers that be, of the Socialist Party have decreed, in utter disregard of the will and wish of the rank and file that there be further destructive and demoralizing war carried on between the Socialist forces of America.

The National Committeeen, the powers that be, of the Socialist Party have thrown the gauntlet of defiance and war to the International Proletariat by the utter disregard of their decision as expressed through the International Congress held in Amsterdam — "That

there be only one United Socialist Party in every civilized country that has evolved a United Capitalist Class of oppression and exploitation."

Will the class-conscious revolutionary proletarian of America, the men and women of the working class, allow the Committeeen, the powers that be of the Socialist Party to trample under their feet the noblest and most legitimate class aspirations of the workers?

Shall the National Committeeen, the powers that be of the Socialist Party succeed in their strenuous efforts of severing their rank and file from the International body of the organized Proletariat of the World, and thus throw them into the confusion of Anarchy?

Shall the triumphant and inspiring motto of International Solidarity be inscribed on the banner of American Socialism? "Workingmen and working-

patriotism. What must be the Socialist attitude? The answer comes ringing down in clarion tones from those immortal heroes of '71. In one of their manifestoes they said: "Once more on the pretext of national honor, the peace of the world is menaced by political ambitions. Workingmen of all countries: let our voices unite in one cry of reprobation against war. . . . War, for question of preponderance or a dynasty can in the eyes of the working class be nothing but a criminal absurdity. In answer to the war-like proclamations of those who exempt themselves from the blood tax and find in public misfortune a source of fresh speculations, we protest, we who want peace, labor and liberty."

That short period between March 18th, the day Paris rose like one man as the result of an attempt of the bourgeoisie, represented by Thiers, to steal the artillery belonging to the National Guard, the latter of which was chiefly composed of Parisian workmen—and May 28th, when the last of the Communal heroes succumbed to overwhelming odds on the heights of Belleville and Menilmontant, there was waged a struggle with which nothing in the entire history of class strife compares.

In the sublimity of their enthusiasm and heroism, the magnanimity shown their erstwhile masters who had crouched, persecuted and oppressed them, their solidarity and unanimity of purpose, their rapidity of action in toppling off all the instruments of class oppression which are necessary adjuncts to the survival of a capitalist state, and the enacting and enforcement of decrees tending to the establishment of a Socialist Republic, there was presented a spectacle that held the whole world enthralled with awe and amazement.

Space will not permit a detailed review of this stupendous struggle; neither is space necessary, since our party literature already contains works covering it completely. It will not be out of place, however, to offer a few thoughts in a brief comparative study of the event and the conditions of to-day.

Subsequent to the establishment of the Commune, and in order to allay and turn the growing discontent of the bourgeoisie and an impending proletarian revolution, Louis Bonaparte declared war against Prussia. Immediately the International Workingmen's Association issued a manifesto calling upon the German workingmen not to allow this purely dynastic war to develop beyond a war of defence, otherwise victory or defeat would prove alike disastrous.

The German workers responded with a mass meeting denouncing the idea of a war with France and passed resolutions ending with these words: "We are enemies of all wars, but above all dynastic wars."

With deep sorrow and grief we are forced to undergo a defensive war as an unavoidable evil, but we call at the same time upon the whole working class to render an occurrence of such an immense social misfortune impossible, by vindicating for the peoples themselves the power to decide on peace and war and making them masters of their own destinies."

That the war did develop into a war of aggression, resulting in the surrender of Louis Bonaparte and a proclamation of a Republic at Paris; the overthrow of the latter by the proletariat and the establishment of a Socialist Republic, which, after holding full sway for two months was destroyed, whereupon the bourgeoisie again assumed control, we all know.

In the light of these historic events, the question presents itself—What is the lesson he forth to the proletarian hosts of the world, and of the United States in particular? We observe at this moment two powerful nations, the United States and Japan, putting themselves in readiness in anticipation of a possible conflict with each other. As a result of the recent panic and the general depression existing everywhere, our capitalist masters are again invoking the god of

women of all countries unite!" Shall there be war between the workers that the Capitalist Class be enabled to crush out the last breath of resistance in the disrupted and demoralized ranks of the American Working Class?

His Capitalist Highness J. P. Morgan would not have dared to proclaim so impudently and triumphantly the inauguration of the reign of Feudal Capitalism a few weeks ago, if he knew that the workers of this country, represented a united solid phalanx imbued with a spirit of class solidarity and marching in closed ranks towards their goal of economic freedom. What do you say, Socialist Women of the land?

We, the Socialist Women of Greater New York, realizing the necessity and importance of a United Socialist Movement, ask you, brothers and sisters of the Socialist Party: "Shall you, will you blindly submit and obey and become partners to the work of destruction carried from above into the ranks of the working class, and thus strengthen the arm of oppression and exploitation?"

The Socialist Women of Greater New York, who from their inception have inscribed on their banner "Unity among the Workers," reassert their determination to carry on propaganda of unifying action and call upon all women imbued with the spirit of true Socialism to

join us.

We women, who bear the stigma of slavery and degradation inscribed on our bent backs, and therefore are most concerned in the success of the Socialist Movement, not only as a class, but also as a sex, must and will raise the banner of revolt and demand Unity!

All those in favor of Unity of the Socialist and Labor forces of the land, write and communicate with us. We want your names and addresses, your moral and financial assistance. Join us, all Socialist Women, irrespective of your former party affiliations and help carry on agitation for Unity, as far and as wide as possible.

We also request all those in favor of Unity who know the names and addresses of the National Committeeen of the Socialist Party who opposed Unity to kindly forward their addresses, as well as the names and addresses of those committeeen who favored Unity.

Socialist Women of  
Greater New York.  
New York, March 6.

P. S.—Send all communications to Anna B. Touroff, 508 St. Mary's street, New York City.

The People is a good broom to brush the cobwebs from the minds of the workers. Buy a copy and pass it around.

## LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

T. O. P., MUNCIE, IND.—Now to your second question—

It is a common experience that, difficult though it is to cause men to drop some rooted error, yet it is easy to get them to adopt some new name for the same old thing, provided they are allowed to adhere to their old habits. In the savas of the Amazon river, for instance, the name of St. Joseph is a very common one. It is given to a hideous wooden image, once called Walli-Walla.

The Indians could not be persuaded to drop Walli-Walla. But they were quite willing to drop the name and give the image that of "St. Joseph," provided they were allowed, as, indeed, they were, to worship "St. Joseph" with the rites of Walli-Walla. Ditto, ditto, with the gentlemen who now mouth "Industrialism" and seek to establish a new I. W. W. with the continued worship of St. Craft-Unionism.

Next question next week.

J. K., NEW YORK.—A pamphlet giving the figures and facts regarding the Chinese Wall of high initiation and other fees in the craft-unions is yet to be written. It should be a good subject for an address by someone who has the requisite facilities to collect the facts in this case.

E. V. C., NEW YORK.—One of the purposes of the Socialist party National Committee in rejecting Unity is to hamper the growth of the I. W. W. With the two parties in the field, the A. F. of L. agents find a good pretext to keep the I. W. W. in turmoil.

"PHOTO-ENGRAVER," BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Good man, you insult your union. To call a "traitor to the organization" the man who publishes facts about it is as much as to say the union was built for wrongful purposes. Would you say that of your union? Surely not. Your union was built for good purposes. When mischief begins to be done, it is a sign that the union is being drawn from the right path to the wrong. That is the work of traitors. A traitor also is he who slanders his organization. You do not attempt to say that the article on the Photo-Engravers was false. The People is the stronghold against union-wreckers. These are the frauds who pluck and cheat the rank and file. A plucked and cheated rank and file never can construct a true union.

One great factor in the downfall of the Commune which we are cognizant of, was the crudity of economic organization existing at that time. It was a flash of genius that was shown by those grand old Communists in the issuance of one of their most important decrees, only with the exception that the percentage did not reach as high as in the first. On account of the crisis in 1894 the wages went down almost to the minimum point, but according to Bohn's figures the wages are the same to-day, and; moreover, they are cut down to half by the increased prices of commodities. What an absurdity!

"Cheap commodities make cheap laborers and dear commodities make dear laborers," said Marx, and this is as good to-day as it was when spoken by Marx. We are all buyers and sellers. We sell in order to buy, and we buy in order to sell. Then what good would it do if the sellers overcharged their goods when in turn they will be buyers themselves? It would be mutual cheating and consequently no profit for anybody.

"Circulation or exchange of commodities begets no value," said Marx, and the only way for the capitalist class to make more surplus value is to either reduce the wages, if they can be reduced, or make the laborers work harder and longer time, or improve the machinery by which the labor

can be made more productive, thus cheapening the commodities including the labor-power.

With deep sorrow and grief we are forced to undergo a defensive war as an unavoidable evil, but we call at the same time upon the whole working class to render an occurrence of such an immense social misfortune impossible, by vindicating for the peoples themselves the power to decide on peace and war and making them masters of their own destinies."

The backwardness of industrial development at that time, we can readily see, precluded the immediate consummation of this form of economic organization; but the germ was there, and now, after a development of thirty-seven years, with the accompanying industrial changes, this germ has sprung into growth and action. Industrial Unionism, as represented by the Industrial Workers of the World, is drawing together like a magnet all the heretofore disintegrated revolutionary elements. It is binding and amalgamating them closer and closer into a compact body, with a class-consciousness, ever growing in extent and power, containing within its organic boundaries its political aspirations, and erecting, as it develops, the structure which will bolster up its political aspirations.

The Paris Commune is dead, but out of the crushed and bleeding bodies of its martyred defenders, there emerged a revolutionary spirit which is permeating the proletarian hosts of the world, who are marching with unbroken step to an inevitable glorious victory. Hail to the Socialist Republic.

Lida, Nev.

2nd. The term "Communism" is used in various senses. One sense is a pure moral abstraction, implied in the motto: "To all according to their needs." The motto is purely visionary. Where there is not enough wealth producible for the needs of all, the motto is inapplicable. Where there is ample wealth for all the motto is superfluous.

Another sense in which the term is used is that each community shall be sovereign. In this sense the term is false to sociology. There can be no sovereign community for the reason that no one community can satisfy all its needs. They must all co-operate. Co-operation implies a central directing authority.

A. W. M., NEW YORK.—Now to your first specific question on money—

The money issued is not issued on any per capita principle. It is issued by the Federal Government either under laws allowing such issues, or by coining the gold brought to the mints. It is issued by banks upon Government securities deposited with the Federal Government. The present Aldrich bill endeavors to authorize the banks to issue money on railroad securities. On the details of this rough outline a book can be filled.

J. F. B., BOSTON, MASS.—Now to our second question—

What you call "service vouchers" are not the "increase of a worker's income." They are the evidence of the amount of wealth that he has contributed into the common store, either by his productive labor, or by that differentiated productive labor called "service," as in distribution, transportation, etc. His vouchers show how much he can take out. He can take out as much as he put in.

Next question next week.

G. S. H., KELSEYVILLE, CAL.; E. C., PROVIDENCE, R. I.; J. B., FORT DE SOTO, FLA.; B. P. A., MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.; M. H. S., CHAMPAIGN, ILL.; W. J., GOLDFIELD, NEV.; J. P., TROY, N. Y.; W. H. M., DALLAS, TEX.; N. O'N., PROVIDENCE, R. I.; C. G., PLEASENTVILLE, N. Y.; C. J. B., BUFFALO, N. Y.; S. S., LOS ANGELES, CAL.; M. H. S., CHAMPAIGN, ILL.; G. R., JACKSONVILLE, ILL.; G. A. M., TORONTO, CAN.; E. M. S., TUOLUMNE, CAL.; B. S. F., CINCIN

**OFFICIAL****NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

TEE.

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary pro tem

28 City Hall Place.

CANADIAN S. L. P.

National Secretary, W. D. Forbes,

412 Wellington Road, London, Ont.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.

(The Party's literary agency.)

28 City Hall Place, N. Y. City.

Notice—For technical reasons no party

announcements can go in that are

not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p.m.

**N. E. C. SUB-COMMITTEE.**

Regular meeting of the N. E. C. Sub-

Committee was held on Wednesday,

March 11th, 1908, at 28 City Hall place.

Present: Lechner, Brauckmann, Zimmermann, Hall, Wegener, Orange, Hammer, Rosenberg, Hanlon, Schwartz, Kuhn, Malmberg; absent: Ball, Archer, Chairman, Zimmermann.

Minutes of previous meeting adopted

after the following correction: "Orange

was mistakenly recorded as having sec-

onded a motion when chairman of last

meeting. Motion in question was sec-

onded by Hall.

The secretary read the financial re-

port for five weeks ending March 7th:

Income Expenses

Feb. 8th ..... \$82.86 \$45.45

" 15th ..... 83.05 33.15

" 22nd ..... 66.02 168.47

" 29th ..... 44.30 25.20

Mar. 7th ..... 35.27 42.60

In the matter of raising a National

Campaign Fund, it was moved by Ros-

enberg, seconded by Wegener, "That a

call for same be issued, and subscrip-

tion lists be sent to sections." Carried

unanimously.

Moved by Kuhn, seconded by Brauck-

mann, "That money collected on Na-

tional Campaign subscription lists be

divided as follows: one third to go

to National organization, one third to

State and one third to remain with local

organization collecting same, where no

State organization exists half is to go

to National and other half to local or-

ganization." Carried unanimously.

Lechner reported in the matter of

letter sent by member of Hungarian

Branch of Milwaukee which was re-

ferred to him for investigation. Recom-

mends that same be referred to Section

Milwaukee as matter does not properly

belong to the Sub-Committee.

Moved by Rosenberg, seconded by

Brauckmann, "That report be concur-

red in." Carried unanimously.

The Building Committee reported pro-

gress.

Communications: From J. Mahlon

Barnes, National Secretary of the So-

cialist Party reporting action of the

National Committee of that party on

the Unity Resolution, rejecting unity.

Moved by Malmberg, seconded by

Brauckmann, "That a committee of

three be elected to draw up a statement

to the working class of the land and

to the international proletariat on the

action of the Socialist Party National

Committee, the statement to be submit-

ted to the next regular meeting for

approval and to be forwarded to the

N. E. C. for final action. Carried un-

animously. Committee: Kuhn, Orange

and Hammer.

Kuhn reported that owing to action of

National Committee of S. P. on Unity

matter, the election of a Unity Confer-

ence Committee was dropped.

It was decided to furnish copies of

report of National Secretary of the

Socialist Party to the Editorial Depart-

ment.

From Section New York complaining

against publication of Letter-Box an-

swer in The People of Feb. 8, entitled

"M. A. G. Herrin, Ill." and also article

entitled "The Other Side," published in

The Daily People of Feb. 16th.

From Section Providence, R. I., re-

garding same.

The following decision was offered by

Hammer, seconded by Orange: "Com-

munications from Section Providence,

R. I., and General Committees of Sec-

tion New York Co. having been receiv-

ed, complaining against the publication

in The People of the documents headed

"The Other Side" in answer to the

Gurley letter, the views of the complai-

ants are found unsound.

The documents referred to in the

Letter-box answer to Gurley, and sub-

sequently published in the article "The

Other Side" show that the issue was not

a personal one. The documents show

that the issue was a series of combined

and unwarranted assaults upon a Party

institution—The People. It is the duty

of the Editor of The People to repel

such assaults, and it is also his duty

to convey information to the militants

upon important matters of which they

could not otherwise have knowledge.

By publishing these documents, the Edi-

tor of The People fulfilled his duty in

both respects. His action is sustained.

"This decision not being upon a mat-

ter of routine or emergency, shall be

submitted to the N. E. C. for final ac-

tion." Carried unanimously.

From Section Cleveland on behalf of

"Arbeiter Zeitung" sending draft of ci-

cular to be sent to Sections, calling for

raising funds to pay off debt on "Ar-

beiter Zeitung," and asking endorsement.

Moved by Lechner, seconded by

Brauckmann, "That same be endorsed."

Carried unanimously.

From Pa. S. E. C. requesting infor-

mation regarding International Bureau

stamps. Answered and filed.

From Br. 6 W. S. and D. B. N. Y.

regretting inability to render financial

aid at present. Filed.

From Section Chicago sending \$5.00

for International Bureau assessment,

nominating New York as seat for Na-

tional Convention, and stating that one

English and one German branch have

been organized recently, and another

English branch is to be organized in the

near future. That two Branches of the

Scandinavian Federation and one Lettish

Branch have recently joined the

Section, and asking information. An-

swered and filed.

From McCulloch, Manchester, Va.

sending money for Young and Campbell

literature fund from the defense fund,

and giving information. Filed.

The attention of the members is called

to the Young and Campbell literature fund.

From Campbell, Birmingham, Ala.,

giving report of his work in Virginia,

Tennessee and Alabama, and giving in-

formation regarding affairs in Virginia.

Filed.

From Section Goldfield, Nev., ac-

knowledging receipt of money for Preston

and Smith defense fund, giving infor-

mation regarding industrial affairs, and

general information. Filed.

From Section Plainfield, N. J., asking

for information. Answered and filed.

From Gilkhaus, San Francisco, stating

that he has reorganized Section Santa

Clara County with some former mem-

bers of the Socialist Party and giving

information regarding affairs in San

Francisco. Filed.

From McConnell, giving information

regarding local matters and asking in-

formation. Answered and filed.

From C. A. Kessler and others, Pitts-

burg, Pa., presenting grievances against

Pa. N. E. C. member. Owing to the

matter being voluminous Zimmerman

and Orange were elected as a committee

to investigate same and report to next

meeting.

From Reinstein, N. Y. N. E. C. mem-

ber, stating that the N. Y. N. E. C. has

requested him to call for the reconsidera-

tion of motion no. 70 which provides

that salary of National Secretary be

\$25 per week, and that same be changed

to \$15, and making suggestions regard-

ing holding of Unity Conference. Re-

ferred to N. E. C.

From Rensselaer Co. regarding same.

From Section St. Louis, Mo., regarding

necessity of modifying name in order

to appear on ballot, owing to election

law. Moved by Rosenberg, seconded by

Brauckmann, "That Section St. Louis

be permitted to use such name as they

shall deem advisable." Carried unani-

mously.

From Minn. S. E. C. reporting elec-

tion of G. H. Campbell in place of Foy

as N. E. C. member for Minnesota. Filed.

From Br. 174 W. S. &amp; D. B., Alex-

andria, Ind., stating inability to render

any aid at present. Filed.

From Br. 174 W. S. &amp; D. B., Alex-

andria, Ind., stating inability to render